

**DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY**

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**MARRIAGE A LA MODE**

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**HUMANITIES WORKING PAPER 142**

**July 1990**

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July 1990

### ABSTRACT

*Marriage à la Mode* is the fourth chapter in the biography of Thomas, Marquess of Wharton (*Tom* to his family and eventually to the political world of England). The chapter picks up the narrative about 1666, when young Tom returns from three years in France; and it deals with the attempts of Lord Wharton, his father, to negotiate a suitable seventeenth-century style marriage for him. Though the episodes deal with the Wharton family in particular, they illustrate some of the general problems of aristocratic marriages during the Restoration era; and they form a complete story in themselves.

The tables of abbreviations and short titles which are included to help the reader through the (voluminous) notes are the lists for the whole biography, not merely *Marriage à la Mode*.

## IV

### MARRIAGE A LA MODE

Even before Tom set out from Wooburn for Caen, in 1663, his father had begun worrying about a marriage for him. Although Tom was then not yet fifteen, Lord Wharton knew that one could not begin too early to look for rich and virtuous young ladies. Since the first duty of an aristocrat was to preserve and augment the family property, since marriage was a ready and easy way to wealth, and since Lord Wharton himself had acquired several large and lovely manors by marriage, he set about as a matter of course to find an heiress for his heir.

In entering the intricate, competitive, and stylized business of negotiating marriages, Lord Wharton had two or three solid advantages. First, of course, he was immensely wealthy. His wealth, moreover, consisted largely in landed estates, the most prestigious of all assets, and it included manors in Ireland in addition to his vast holdings in England.<sup>1</sup> Along with his wealth went a peerage--a permanent seat in the House of Lords and a cluster of special privileges. This combination of powers and honors would descend to his heir, who would become the fifth baron Wharton.

From the point of view of strategy and tactics, Lord Wharton had another enviable resource. As the patron and protector of Nonconformist ministers, he had a ready-made network of agents scattered throughout England--bright, educated, and underemployed clergymen who were devoted to his interests, skilled both in locating heiresses and ferreting out the actual (as opposed to the *reputed*) size of their fortunes, and often influential with parents or trustees in marriage negotiations.

Among the clerical operatives who at one time or another furnished Lord Wharton information on marriage prospects were some of the most prominent men in the Nonconformist world; and it was two of these, Dr. John Owen and Thomas Gilbert,<sup>2</sup> who opened the first campaign on Tom's behalf. In April 1663, they discovered that at Culham, near Abingdon, there was a thirteen-year-old heiress named Sarah Berry. Mistress Berry, an only child, had been left in the care of her mother after the death of her father, whose estate she would eventually inherit. The two men learned further that the young lady's paternal grandmother was a friend of Dr. Owen's and that her aunt and uncle (a physician named Garbraine) were well known to Gilbert--a set of circumstances which meant that the lucky agents could meet the girl and her mother socially and make discreet investigations without committing anyone to anything.

Gilbert's first reports were inconclusive. Although the girl herself--young Mistress Berry--seemed "advantageously amiable" as far as disposition, beauty, and brains were concerned,<sup>3</sup> there was a serious question about the size of her estate. Preliminary investigation seemed to show that it was considerably below the expectations of a rich young nobleman like Tom and perhaps slightly above those of a second son like Goodwin, though the inheritance planned for Goodwin (as Gilbert pointed out) was unusually large for a second son.<sup>4</sup> The case

seemed to warrant further investigation, however, since Dr. Garbraine contended that the estate was undervalued and since Mrs. Garbraine discovered a family relationship between the Whartons and the Berrys: Sir Edmund Carey, Lord Wharton's maternal uncle (the brother of Lady Philadelphia Wharton) was the grandfather of the young lady's father and hence the great-grandfather of the young lady herself.<sup>5</sup> Lord Wharton, therefore, was entitled to call the girl "Cousin Sarah," and it was easy to arrange a casual and non-compromising visit that allowed him to check out Gilbert's estimate of her charms.

Naturally, no one told the fourteen-year-old Tom that his future was under heavy discussion, and no one dreamed of suggesting that he should go see the young lady himself. The business of marriage was much too serious to be entrusted to adolescents; and Tom would not have been allowed to meddle with the early explorations even if he had not been shipped off to France that summer. And as matters turned out, it was just as well he was not involved in his own future. The tentative negotiations fell apart about the time Tom was spending his second Christmas in Caen. Further investigation showed that Thomas Gilbert's first appraisal had been right after all. Mistress Berry's fortune was not big enough for Tom; and Lord Wharton did not think it worth his while to "play" young Goodwin, who (Gilbert suggested) might have been brought in "by a side wind."<sup>6</sup>

Lord Wharton's second recorded attempt to find an heiress for Tom took place in the summer of 1667, the year after the young man returned from France.<sup>7</sup> It began with a brief foray into Warwickshire by Thomas Gilbert to investigate the person and prospects of a young lady at Whitacre, a few miles west of Coventry; and it ended quickly when the estate in question seemed inadequate. Lord Wharton, who had insisted that his name should be kept out of the inquiries,<sup>8</sup> dropped the young lady from consideration and deferred the pursuit of Tom's happiness until the following summer.

In July and August 1668 the campaign shifted to Bloxham and Wroxton in the vicinity of Banbury and involved three agents--two deprived clergymen and a Presbyterian MP. These men --John Swynfen (the MP),<sup>9</sup> Samuel Clarke, and John Dodd<sup>10</sup>--were asked to make discreet inquiries about four young heiresses--apparent and to report their findings to Lord Wharton. One of the young ladies was the daughter of an Oxfordshire gentleman named Cartwright; the other three were the daughters of Beata Pope, Countess of Downe, whose husband Thomas, the third Earl of Downe, had died the previous January and whose only son, briefly the fourth Earl, had died in May, some four months later.

Again the first reports seemed unpromising. Though young Mistress Cartwright was "of a tall stature," her widower father considered her several years too young for even long-term contracts; he would not "enter into any treaty."<sup>11</sup> It was rumored, furthermore, that Mr. Cartwright, who was still comparatively young, intended to remarry; in which event he would probably sire a male heir to his estates, displacing the young lady. In the opinion of John Dodd, Lord Wharton would be well advised to forget Mistress Cartwright as a wife for Tom and to seek her father as a husband for one of the older Wharton daughters.<sup>12</sup>

The case of the three young noblewomen was more complicated. Only one of them, the oldest, who was several years older than Tom, was disqualified on the grounds of age; the other two, at about twenty and fourteen, were clearly eligible. They were eligible too on grounds of "disposition," "natural parts" (native intelligence), "education," and "comeliness"--important items on the check-list that Lord Wharton gave his agent Samuel Clarke. Their manners, morals, and appearance (including "good complexions") were clearly worthy of their aristocratic station.<sup>13</sup> In

the matter of "fortune," however--the first item on Lord Wharton's list--their qualifications were less clear. The annual income from their father's property was about £2,000. This sum, which would have made an opulent patrimony for a sole heiress, was much less impressive when divided into three parts. There was danger too that the portions would be further reduced by pending litigation over some of the property involved.<sup>14</sup> Under these circumstances, Lord Wharton did not initiate formal negotiations, nor did he drop the matter entirely. For the next few months, he kept an eye on the estates and the lawsuits;<sup>15</sup> then, apparently concluding that the stakes were too small and the problems too messy, he turned to other urgent matters. Meantime, the affair never reached the point where Tom, who turned twenty during the early stages of the investigation, was sent to meet any of the young ladies.

While Lord Wharton strove to find an heiress for Tom, he also tried in a desultory way to do something about Anne and Margaret, his two oldest daughters. That the ladies should eventually marry and produce Wharton grandchildren he had no doubt; but for both economic and personal reasons he was in no hurry. Marrying off a daughter meant providing a dowry; and at the going rates for any gentleman rich enough for a Wharton lady, a dowry meant something like £3,000--roughly £100,000 in the wildly inflated currency of the present. Moreover, since no nobleman wished to alienate land from the family title, a dowry usually meant cash--either a lump sum (taken from savings or raised by mortgage) or installment payments raised from rents and charged against particular properties. The fact that Lord Wharton had four daughters to provide for--to say nothing of three sons besides his heir--made him something less than anxious to begin the process of laying out bags of guineas. For his heir, the beneficiary of the system, he was happy to consider teen-age brides; for his daughters, however, there would be no early dowries.

Lord Wharton had sentimental reasons too for keeping Anne and Margaret at home and out of the marriage market. Though his affection was sometimes undetectable underneath the discipline he enforced, he genuinely loved his daughters. Anne, the oldest surviving child of his second marriage, had served since the death of the second Lady Wharton as surrogate mother for her younger siblings and as counsellor to her father on family affairs. Intelligent, accomplished, obedient, and filled with "divine excellencies," as one of her Calvinist well wishers said, Anne was "justly the admiration" of all who knew her,<sup>16</sup> including her father. Margaret too had earned a special place in Lord Wharton's affection. "A very prudent and virtuous lady of the evenest temper and sweetest disposition imaginable," she was conspicuously devoted to her father's welfare.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of his reluctance to part with his daughters, Lord Wharton began in the summer of 1666 to make a few tentative passes at the marriage problem. His first concern was Anne, of course, since she was the oldest and since she would soon reach an age where agents would think of her as a match for a wealthy widower instead of a wealthy young bachelor. The initial probes, undertaken by John Dodd in August 1666, were unproductive, as was a more determined effort in London by Robert Clarkson, who believed that he had negotiated a match until events proved him wrong.<sup>18</sup> In March 1667, John Stalham investigated a gentleman in Essex whose estate and morals seemed to pass muster but who came up short in "godly principle" and works of grace, being "inclined to the superstition of the times"<sup>19</sup>; that is to say, Anglicanism. Again the tentative explorations ended without a marriage contract.

In the autumn of 1668 Thomas Gilbert sent Lord Wharton an important message. In mid-October, "Old Mr.[Samuel] Dunch," the head of a staunch Puritan family long friendly with the

Whartons, had died. Then, unexpectedly, less than two weeks later, his son and heir John Dunch had died also. The double deaths meant that the Dunch manors at Pusey (then in Berkshire, now in Oxfordshire) along with other properties, would descend to John's oldest son Major--a young, hopeful, strictly-raised gentleman of about eighteen. Gilbert guessed the value of young Major's estate at about £2,500 per year, and he pointed out further that Major's guardian and the sole executor of John Dunch's will was "Honest Mr. Gunter," the steward of the Dunch properties.<sup>20</sup> Gilbert did not bother to add, what was obvious to Lord Wharton, that "Honest Mr. Gunter" was Humphrey, younger brother of John Gunter, the steward of Lord Wharton's northern estates; nor did Gilbert add, what was equally clear, that the Wharton daughters, with Gunter and Gilbert himself on their side, had suddenly gained the inside track in the race for a rich heir.

But where Anne Wharton was concerned, Major Dunch was too young to be even slightly interesting. At eighteen he would barely do for her younger sister Margaret, to whom he was ultimately consigned.<sup>21</sup> Anne had moved beyond hopeful young gentlemen, however well raised; and Lord Wharton's agents had failed at least once too often in their search for eligible husbands. While they were making their leisurely probes, Anne was falling in love. By early 1669, she had "fixed her affections," without Lord Wharton's "privity," upon a thirty-five-year-old barrister named William Carr and had resolved to marry him--or no one. When she informed her father of her resolution and asked for his approval, she touched off a violent and long lasting war.

Lord Wharton was outraged. All the affection, discipline, and training that he had lavished upon Anne had obviously been wasted. Truly loving, pious, and elect daughters would not "give their affections leave to outrun that rule that ought to be their bound"; that is, fall in love without their father's prior consent. And if by mischance or inadvertence they had thoughtlessly "indulged" their affections against their father's wishes, they would not persist in their error. They would repent their sin against the Fifth Commandment and beg forgiveness. But when Lord Wharton proclaimed "his utter dislike of her actings" and ordered her to retract her promise and come to her senses, Anne did not repent. She had made a vow to marry no one except William Carr, and she refused break it.<sup>22</sup>

It was not merely Anne's presumption and disobedience that infuriated Lord Wharton; it was also her choice of husbands. William Carr was not a random lawyer from the Temple or Gray's Inn; he was Lady Wharton's younger brother. A marriage that would make Lord Wharton his daughter's brother-in-law seemed faintly ridiculous if not actually demeaning. Even more unacceptable was the fact that William Carr had no money. Instead of bringing a rich estate into the Wharton orbit, after the manner, say, of young Major Dunch, the struggling young barrister could barely support himself. Lord Wharton had no intention of throwing away a daughter upon a poor relation.

There were other components too in Lord Wharton's rage. Besides preferring William Carr to her father--betraying her father's love and care--Anne had set a frightening example for her three sisters. If young ladies could get away with choosing unsuitable husbands--or any husbands--for themselves, the system of authority, to say nothing of family fortunes, could collapse. Deterrence demanded the moral equivalent of capital punishment. Beyond that, and perhaps more important, was the simple fact that Lord Wharton had been crossed, if not actually defied. At Wooburn and St. Giles, willful disobedience had become thinkable.

Besides his own potent anger, Lord Wharton possessed some extremely heavy weapons. He could have Anne declared a disobedient child and refused communion--placed, that is, under a kind of personal interdict. He could take away the £3000 that had been allotted for her portion.

And by way of reinforcements, he could call upon a number of somber, eloquent, and persuasive ministers who were experts on the Commandments and the ways of sinners.

For a time, it seemed that Lord Wharton's anger and threats might be enough in themselves to bring Anne to heel. Under the first storm of his rage, she made several concessions: She would not marry without her father's consent, she would sign away her rights to a marriage portion, and she would not see or communicate with William Carr. On one vital point she was adamant, however; she would marry no one except Carr. Her father, therefore, should give up trying to arrange a match for her. After delivering herself of these sentiments and in effect refusing once more to repent, she fell dangerously ill.<sup>23</sup> Lord Wharton felt obliged to call up his reinforcements.

But the support Lord Wharton got from his minister friends was much less than overwhelming. Technically, he was correct, of course; Anne had indeed indulged her affections, and her persistence in defying his will was indeed a sin. To the ministers, however, the sin did not seem unforgivable. The young lady had not gone to bed with her lover; she had aimed at honorable marriage (a cause of "joy in heaven"); and she could not be charged with "criminal intent."<sup>24</sup> Lord Wharton's wrath, on the other hand, seemed excessive. For anyone who had not been personally affronted, rejected, and defied, it was difficult to understand the sound and fury, or to see why Lord Wharton should object so violently against a young gentleman whose only visible fault was a low income.

After what amounted to a hearing at Wooburn on 5 April, the minister called upon to review the matter felt obliged to rule in favor of law and order.<sup>25</sup> He declared that Anne should "insist no longer upon her engagement but confess the sinfulness of it both against God and her father." He added, nevertheless, that when Anne returned to "her dutiful state," Lord Wharton should return her sequestered marriage portion and at least listen to William Carr's proposals if they were presented in the regular way.<sup>26</sup> Naturally, Anne refused to listen to such nonsense. Any ruling that denied the sanctity of her engagement was a waste of breath. She would not repent nor return to duty, and a whole synod of ministers would not browbeat her into breaking her vow.

While Anne was resisting pressures that might have bent iron bars, Lord Wharton was undergoing trials of his own. In attacking Anne and true love, he had cast himself as a flinty villain in a bad drama. Even loyal ministers like Robert Bennett, who defended the prudence, orthodoxy, and righteousness of his actions, regretted the necessity; and other people were much less generous. Anne's maternal grandmother Jane Goodwin Martin (wife now of Colonel Francis Martin) was "passionately concerned" when she heard of Anne's illness; and she was strongly seconded by the Nonconformist preacher Thomas Cole, who told Lord Wharton, respectfully but firmly, that he had carried discipline beyond the bounds of Christian love.<sup>27</sup> Another eloquent but anonymous critic, obviously a Dissenting clergyman, pretended not to believe the account of Lord Wharton's harshness to his lovely and virtuous daughter. It was impossible, he said, that the man for whom so many Dissenters prayed, could be guilty of such severity to his own flesh and blood.<sup>28</sup> But eloquence and biblical passages were wasted on Lord Wharton, who remained steadfast in disillusion and rectitude. It would be two years before there was even a slight change in the rigid posture of the antagonists.

Meanwhile, the Whartons were suffering a loss that overshadowed thwarted love and fatherly outrage. In late March 1669, Elizabeth, Countess of Lindsey, the surviving daughter of Lord Wharton's first marriage, made what turned out to be her last visit to Wooburn.<sup>29</sup> Shortly

afterward, she fell ill. At first it was supposed that her illness could be cured by a change of climate, and Lord Wharton requested the congregation at Wooburn to pray for the success of her "journey beyond sea" and for her young family.<sup>30</sup> It soon became evident, however, that she was too ill to travel. After a brief rally<sup>31</sup> and a flutter of false hopes, she died, leaving her husband and the five sons she had borne during her ten years of wedlock.<sup>32</sup> To the Whartons, already well schooled in grief, she left another wrenching lesson on the fragility of human life and the inscrutable ways of Providence.

The disasters of 1669 brought a lull in Lord Wharton's efforts to find a wife for Tom--or at least in the written reports of his agents. It was not until early October 1670 that John Dodd was dispatched into Essex to investigate the charms, piety, and fortune of Lady Mary Rich, second daughter of the "lately deceased" Robert Rich, third Earl of Warwick. Dodd sent a glowing account. Lady Mary, he discovered, was "beautiful," intelligent, sweet, and religious--"fit to make a wife for any man in England." At twenty, she was the right age for Tom, who had just turned twenty-two; and there could be little question about her fortune, which knowledgeable people estimated at about £4,000 per year. Almost miraculously, in view of such powerful attractions, she was presently "free from all engagements, or offers, that might tend to marriage."<sup>33</sup>

Shortly after Lord Wharton received the report on Lady Mary, he learned that Tom and Anne were being investigated as marriage prospects by Matthew Mead, a prominent Nonconformist minister in London.<sup>34</sup> Mead, who was acting for an unnamed family, very logically began his inquiries with Robert Bennett, the minister most intimate with the Whartons over the years. Bennett had known the Wharton children since their birth and had worshipped that "elect and precious lady" Jane, Lady Wharton, their mother. He had also exercised a general surveillance over the education of the young men through all changes in tutors and strategies. When, therefore, he was asked to provide "a just account of the eldest son and eldest daughter unmarried of my Lord Wharton," he was well prepared. Going beyond his assignment, Bennett not only produced a short profile of Anne and a long characterization of Tom, but threw in sketches of Margaret, Goodwin, and Mary for good measure. And he assured Matthew Mead that if his account seemed too favorable to be true--if it seemed a flattering picture of an ideal Christian family--it was nevertheless sober fact which would withstand the "strictest scrutiny."<sup>35</sup>

Since Anne had taken herself out of the marriage market, Bennett dismissed her with a thumbnail sketch and a sigh. The eldest daughter, he wrote, "is a lady of great worth, excellent intellectuals, and many other ornamental accomplishments, only unhappy in that being mistress of so many choice endowments she hath submitted to an affection prejudicial to that degree and high estate in the world which otherwise she might have attained unto."

About Tom, Bennett could be expansive, since the young man was a credit to his strict upbringing and the "domestical examples" set by his father and mother. Like Gale and Clifford before him, Bennett observed that Tom had a remarkable mind and "a very sweet disposition" and that he was naturally active and vivacious. Over the years he had added maturity of judgment to his quick apprehension, and he had demonstrated a talent for the business affairs entrusted to him by his father. With maturity he had also acquired the virtues of the ideal English gentleman--a generous spirit and an obliging behavior, "without meanness, height, or affectation." More impressively, Bennett explained, Tom had attained the gentlemanly virtues without the gentlemanly vices. In the roistering, dissolute Restoration age, he had resisted the twin corruptions of "intemperance and incontinence." He had shown, as Bennett assured Mead, "an



immunity from them both."

But if Tom was a Christian gentleman with a thorough grounding in the ways of religion and with the ability to tell the difference between the "strict" and "loose" professors of it (the difference, that is, between Dissenters and Anglicans) and if like his brothers and sisters he was handsome, with his virtues "fairly lodged," he could not be called perfect. In the interests of truth and candor, Bennett was compelled to inform Mead that Tom had twice been heard to swear. This information, which Bennett otherwise would not have easily believed, came from Lord Wharton himself and hence could not be doubted. In spite of this significant blot, however, Bennett was able to conclude his sketch of Tom with a ringing endorsement: "Upon the whole," he wrote, "I do judge Mr. Wharton to be a person that hath few equals in this age of his quality-- a gentleman propense to virtuous things and worthy of nobility if he were not born to it."<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps unfortunately, neither Robert Bennett's praise of Tom nor John Dodd's recommendations of Lady Mary Rich led to marriage negotiations.<sup>37</sup> For reasons presently unknown, the tentative probes came to nothing.<sup>38</sup> Again there was a lull in the maneuvers on Tom's behalf; and in the interval before the next complex series of operations the second act in the drama of Anne Wharton was played out.

In early 1671, after about two years in limbo, Anne found a good reason to break her promise not to marry without her father's consent. Since the promise had been extorted by threats, she and her lawyer husband-to-be might have argued that it was therefore null and void; but Anne remembered something better. In the heat of battle, before clerical witnesses, including Benjamin Perkins, Lord Wharton had once exclaimed in exasperation, "Why doth she not get married? Who hinders her?"<sup>39</sup> At the time, the last question had seemed rhetorical and the answer--"You, Disinheritance, Interdict, and the Fifth Commandment"--had seemed hopelessly obvious. Now, however, recollected in tranquillity, the memorable questions could be construed as passive consent--not "positive consent," of course, and certainly not consent with a father's blessing, but enough consent to allow a daughter "liberty in point of conscience to proceed." Accordingly, Anne married William Carr and ended two years of romantic agonies.

Not surprisingly, Lord Wharton did not accept the *fait accompli* or Anne's version of his passive consent. But when he appealed to Benjamin Perkins, Perkins not only supported Anne's position but counselled Lord Wharton to give "what [ex] post [facto] consent" he could and "to allow something towards a necessary maintenance." He should forgive the couple, Perkins said in effect, and trust God to turn his hurt and disappointment into a blessing.<sup>40</sup> But Lord Wharton gave no "post" consent and no money. If he could not prevent the marriage or convict Anne of moral perjury, he could at least cut off her marriage portion and save himself £3,000. He remained unmoved when the eloquent Congregational minister George Griffith (whom he had consulted in the original crisis) pleaded with him to give himself the luxury and spiritual rewards of reconciliation and warned him that he was damaging his reputation as the most Christian peer in England and bringing disgrace upon the whole Nonconformist cause with what appeared to be miserly, unfatherly, and unchristian behavior.<sup>41</sup> And when his son, young Goodwin, wrote him a long letter begging him to be reconciled to Anne as a matter of charity, Lord Wharton paid no attention at all.<sup>42</sup> It would be several more years before he could forgive his daughter, and he would never give her any money.<sup>43</sup>

Anne's marriage, however distasteful to her father, simplified the Wharton matrimonial problems. By removing an ambiguity in the status list and by leaving an unused dowry, it helped to clear the way for Anne's younger sisters and for Tom. Earlier, Lord and Lady Wharton had

found a suitable husband for Lady Wharton's daughter Letitia. On 2 March 1670, at the age of twenty-two, Letitia was married to a thirty-six year old London merchant named John Bawdon.<sup>44</sup> Originally from Bridgwater in Somersetshire, Bawdon had acquired substantial trading interests in the West Indies and the American colonies, and he would eventually become a London alderman and a knight.<sup>45</sup> Eventually too, the marriage would provide Tom with a biographer and John Somers with a serious matrimonial interest;<sup>46</sup> but for the present it merely meant that Lizzie was gone from Wooburn and St. Giles to a separate household in the City.

In late 1671, after all the heiresses investigated by Lord Wharton and his agents on Tom's behalf, there was at last a lively prospect and a probe that moved beyond exploration into serious negotiation. This affair, which lasted more than a year and sent Tom on four journeys into Devon, was initiated by another Presbyterian M. P.--this time the member from Hull, Andrew Marvell. Marvell, who was staying at Winchendon during the last week of 1671, had learned of an heiress at Brooke, an estate near Buckfastleigh in Devonshire; and with Lord Wharton's permission he assigned a London agent, Dr. Benjamin Worsley,<sup>47</sup> to make the first moves. Worsley, in turn, wrote to an Exeter correspondent, Francis Hart,<sup>48</sup> who soon returned a favorable report, which Worsley passed along to Marvell and Lord Wharton.<sup>49</sup>

The heiress in question was Elizabeth Cabell, daughter of the late Richard Cabell, one-time sheriff of the county, and grand-daughter on her mother's side of Sir Edmund Fowell of Fowelscombe in south Devon. The young lady, now about fifteen, had been left in the care of her mother (also named Elizabeth); and her extensive inheritance had been left in the charge of trustees, headed by John Fowell, her mother's brother.<sup>50</sup> Obviously a rich prize in the marriage market, Mistress Cabell had already attracted a swarm of suitors, including two or three with imposing credentials.

The first of these was young John Rolle, whom Tom and Goodwin had known in Caen. Young Rolle, son of the baronet Sir John Rolle, had the advantage of a large fortune, an Oxford education, and a personal familiarity with the Cabells. His mother and the young lady's mother were friends, and he had known Mistress Cabell herself for a long time. He was visiting the Cabells, in fact, during some parts of the Wharton enquiries.<sup>51</sup> The second contender--at least in the plans of his father--was John Arundell, son of Richard, first baron Arundell of Trefice. Young Arundell, like Tom, was the heir to a peerage, and his father had wisely solicited the interest of John Fowell in the negotiations.<sup>52</sup> The third suitor, a wealthy young squire named Thynne, had the advantage of a fortune in possession rather than prospect--some of which he was then dissipating in London.

But Tom and the Whartons had solid advantages too. To begin with, Tom was much better looking than young Rolle,<sup>53</sup> whose familiarity with Mistress Cabell had not served to sweep her off her feet; and he was richer<sup>54</sup> and more personable than young Arundell, who seems to have been what a later generation would call a loud-mouthed clot. Tom was attractive, as it turned out, not only to young ladies but also to their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers. To the modest degree that a match depended upon personal charm, Tom could hardly lose. As for young Mr. Thynne, he was soon removed from the competition by his reputation as a "mere debauchee"<sup>55</sup> and by his unwillingness to leave the fleshpots of London for a campaign in Buckfastleigh, Fowelscombe, and Exeter.

In the much more important business of wealth and connections, Lord Wharton soon discovered other advantages. Although Richard Cabell himself had been a "moderate cavalier,"<sup>56</sup> his wife and the rest of the Fowells were Puritans. Sir Edmund had been one of the Presbyterian

MPs excluded in Pride's Purge and as such he was a natural ally of Lord Wharton, who could justly praise him for "worth, godliness, and religion."<sup>57</sup> In addition, Margaret, Lady Fowell, Sir Edmund's wife, was the great-aunt of John, Lord Poulett, whose first wife, Essex Popham, was the niece of Lady Wharton. This meant that the Whartons were once more dealing with "cousins."

To further consolidate these advantages, Lord Wharton was able to enlist other allies in Devonshire: a gentleman and former Commonwealth militia officer<sup>58</sup> named Servington Savery who lived at Shilston, two or three miles from Fowelscombe; an Exeter lawyer named Heskett who handled most of the affairs of the Cabell estate and whose wife had educated young mistress Cabell; a cousin of the Cabells named Thomas Reynell; and two Dissenting clergymen, Samuel Hieron of Honiton and Lewis Stucley of Exeter. These agents, along with Francis Hart and his brother Samuel, enabled Lord Wharton to mount something very like a siege.

Almost lost behind the array of relatives, operatives, and other interested parties and among the plans and counterplans of the contenders was young Mistress Cabell herself. Negotiations had been in train for almost a month before anyone got around to describing her to Lord Wharton, and even then the description furnished by Francis Hart (who knew the Cabells well) might have fit many carefully raised English girls. Her disposition, Hart wrote, was "of a sweet, lovely nature"; her natural talents were "very good and managed with great sobriety"; and she was commended by family and friends for "grace and humility." Apparently no one had ever called her pretty, but then no one had ever called her ugly. "As for her person," Hart said, "she is not in the least deformable nor yet beautiful but of a brownish complexion."<sup>59</sup> Like many other young ladies before and since, she suffered in comparison with her mother, who was not only "comely" but also discreet, well bred, witty, and adult. For her age, nevertheless, young Elizabeth was remarkably mature. Already competent to manage a household, she had sometimes cared for her father during her mother's absence. In sum, Hart concluded, Elizabeth was "a very womanly maid" who would make "a very choice wife."<sup>60</sup>

In early June 1672 after much diplomacy, the Whartons advanced to the second level of negotiation. In a letter from Servington Savery, Tom was invited to south Devon, where he was to meet the young lady herself, her mother, and her grandparents. Since he was to make what Worsley had called his "first effort"--his first formal appearance as an avowed suitor--and since negotiations that failed after a face-to-face meeting could not reflect credit on either party, Tom received elaborate instructions. To make his appearance as impressive as possible, he was to bring three or four servants; and to make it as secret as possible, he was not to stop in Exeter or allow his servants to identify him, except as a gentleman from London. He was to meet Savery at Sampson's Inn at Totnes and accompany him to the Savery residence at Shilston, some ten or twelve miles away. There he would await an invitation from Mrs. Cabell, who would be staying nearby at Fowelscombe, her father's house.<sup>61</sup> Tom was further advised in a letter from Francis Hart that the roads of south Devon were unfriendly to coaches and that he should mount his party on horseback. It might also be prudent, Hart suggested, to include a chaplain in the entourage, since the Fowells were noted for their piety.<sup>62</sup>

As for Lord Wharton, he was not to accompany Tom on the last leg of the journey. Since his presence could only complicate the first meeting between Tom and young Elizabeth Cabell, he was to wait nearby in Dorsetshire until the outcome of the encounter determined whether he was to go on to Devon or return to London. Meantime, he assigned John Gunter, his chief steward, to accompany Tom, keep an eye on proceedings, and answer any questions that might be asked about the Wharton estates.<sup>63</sup> Savery's elaborate plan worked as scheduled. Tom and his

cavalcade arrived, incognito, at Totnes on the evening of Friday, 14 June 1672; and on the following Monday, they were received with "freedom and kindness" by the Cabells and the Fowells at Fowelscombe. The meeting, which began at noon with dinner and lasted through the afternoon, was a notable success. Mistress Cabell, her mother, her maiden aunt, and her grandmother found Tom at least as attractive as his agents had said; her grandfather approved; and at the end of the session, Mrs. Cabell instructed Tom and John Gunter to send for Lord Wharton so that a marriage settlement could be set in train.

Tom too found the merchandise to be essentially as advertised. "As to her person," he wrote of Elizabeth, she is "neither a beauty nor otherwise, but that which together with her fortune and virtuous breeding I shall like very well of."<sup>64</sup> The endorsement was much less than lyrical, of course; and if Mistress Cabell had been a race horse, it is unlikely that Tom would have bought her. The judgment constituted, nevertheless, a formal approval of the proposed match. Expressed in a letter to Lord Wharton, it cleared the way for further action. Tom reserved his enthusiasm for the young lady's mother, who, he said, "seems to me to be the most discreet woman and the best humored that ever I saw."

Invited back to Fowelscombe the next day, Tom and his party stayed with the Cabells for about two weeks--until Mrs. Cabell could assemble her daughter's trustees to meet Tom and to discuss terms with Lord Wharton. For this meeting, the scene shifted to Brooke, the home manor of the Cabells; and once again the affair rolled forward without a hitch. Tom made a favorable impression on John Fowell<sup>65</sup> and the rest of the trustees, as did Lord Wharton and the property he promised to settle upon his heir. Similarly, young Elizabeth and her fortune passed Lord Wharton's inspection. When the Whartons set out on their three-day journey back to London, it appeared that nothing remained but to reduce the voluminous details of a property settlement to legal writing and to set a date for a wedding in Devon. At most, they supposed, another visit from Tom to the Cabells would suffice to clear up any remaining problems of love or money.

But one visit was not enough. When in mid-August Tom made his next trip to Brooke, he found two trivial but vaguely worrisome complications. The first was financial. In drawing up the tentative settlement, Lord Wharton had placed what the Cabell trustees considered an unduly high value upon the feudal fees (the "fines") that Tom would collect upon inheriting the estates, and he had charged the estates themselves with more obligations than the trustees thought proper. Considered in themselves, these objections were simply negotiating points to be resolved by compromise; but at the very best they entailed delay and at the worst they might provoke a blast from Lord Wharton that would rattle Exeter.

Somewhat more worrisome was the unaccountable reluctance of the young lady's mother to set a marriage date. That Mrs. Cabell liked her "cousin" Tom was evident. Even a bystander like Samuel Hieron could observe that she seemed "fond" of the "young noblemen." It was also evident that Tom played the role of gentleman fiancé with great credit. He brought down jewels for the young lady, he paid her proper attentions, and he showed himself suitably anxious to hasten the wedding day. As yet, he was not expected to display an overwhelming passion; a growing interest would suffice. This he could manage without feigning. As his later career was to demonstrate, Tom seldom met a woman he did not like, and Mistress Cabell was not among the exceptions. Now, having approved the girl and the match, he could see no reason for delay. But when he urged Mrs. Cabell to set a wedding date as soon as possible after the property settlements were agreed upon, he could get no promise and no very convincing explanation. She would only assure him that she was committed to the marriage--that "if a prince did offer himself, he should

not be entertained."<sup>66</sup>

In spite of such worrisome details, Tom made good use of his visit to Devon. He continued to charm the Cabell household, including Elizabeth's maiden aunt, who "much commended" him for his "carriage at Brooke." He impressed John Fowell and a number of the Devonshire gentry by performing with skill and social grace in a shooting match at Exeter. And he endeared himself to Samuel Hieron by promising to subsidize a Dissenting congregation at Buckfastleigh if he settled there after his marriage. Hieron was already convinced from his observations at Brooke that Tom was "well able to govern himself" and from his earlier observations at Honiton that Tom was "a truly honourable person."<sup>67</sup> Now Tom's generosity confirmed his respect and affection. "Truly, my Lord," Hieron wrote Tom's father, "as far as I can discern, Mr. Wharton is such a person as your Lordship hath great cause to take comfort in."<sup>68</sup>

Tom's performance in Devon, where he spent his twenty-fourth birthday, was by all accounts "much to his honor." But when he returned from the provinces to the excitement of politics, horse races, royal courts, and London ladies, he made a simple and ultimately irretrievable error. He let a month go by without writing to his fiancée at Brooke. His father, meanwhile, made the opposite error. Lord Wharton did write a letter to Brooke--an angry letter to Mr. Heskett, Mrs. Cabell's legal advisor. Seething with indignation at the trustees' objections to his proposals and all the angrier because the objections were largely valid,<sup>69</sup> he hotly defended his own version of the agreement and threatened, not obscurely, to break off the match if the trustees continued to cavil. To further emphasize his displeasure, he delayed Tom's next journey to Devon from the first week in November until the middle of the month.

Between his own neglect and his father's bluster, Tom began his next visit in Devon under a formidable handicap. The mood at Brooke had shifted from careless rapture to edgy suspicion. Mrs. Cabell suspected from the *tone* of Lord Wharton's letter--from the disproportion between the alleged offense and the anger--that Lord Wharton was seizing a pretext to break off the match. Not understanding that he was seldom crossed with impunity and that in a business negotiation he would cavil on the ninth part of a hair, she supposed he wished to "mend his match" with a richer heiress nearer home. As for Tom, she knew very well that young men in love (or anywhere near love) do not go four or five weeks between letters. The uneasy feeling that Tom was too good to be true--that he would never have a deep affection for her plain daughter--was growing towards a conviction.

The Whartons too had reason for doubts. The fact that Mrs. Cabell would not hasten the marriage and that she and her trustees were apparently willing to risk a huge settlement in a squabble over estate charges and feudal fees made them suspect that she had decided, after all, to match her daughter with John Rolle. This suspicion was strengthened when the Cabell trustees discovered financial complications of their own. Only part of Elizabeth's inheritance, they now alleged, could be settled upon Tom; some properties were reserved to "heirs general." The trustee's allegation could be a bargaining chip, of course--a counterweight to Lord Wharton's fines and encumbrances; but it might well be a provocation to break the match.

Finally, and perhaps more significantly, Mrs. Cabell found fault with Tom's "boys"--his grooms, Kit and Jack. On their last stay in Devon, she complained to Samuel Hieron, they had shocked the neighborhood by swearing like troopers--specifically like Lord Goring's royalist troopers, who had infested Devonshire for a time during the Civil Wars.<sup>70</sup> The complaint was an indirect criticism of Tom, since he was clearly responsible for his choice of servants. The language of his grooms raised a doubt about his own soundness; it was anything but an outward

sign of an inward grace.

But when Tom actually arrived at Brooke, on November 19, the clouds began to disperse. His very presence showed that he and his father had no intention of breaking the match; and he soon quieted the fears of the Cabell ladies with diplomacy and charm. He made "protestations" of affection to the young lady; he agreed to dismiss Kit and to allow Mrs. Cabell to choose a groom for him;<sup>71</sup> and he approved of a proposal by the Cabell trustees for a compromise in the property dispute.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, at Brooke and Exeter Tom could see for himself that Mrs. Cabell was not meditating treachery. Besides discretion and wit, she possessed a frank and fearless honesty. When she denied that she had other suitors in mind and repeated that she intended to go through with the match, it was impossible to doubt her. Lord Wharton contributed to the détente by adding property to his proposed settlement--including Wooburn<sup>73</sup> (originally intended for Goodwin<sup>74</sup>) and some lead mines in Swaledale.

By early December, harmony had been restored. Samuel Hieron had predicted that Tom's appearance in Devon would "do much." And so it proved. When Hieron visited the Cabells two weeks after Tom's arrival, he could report with satisfaction that everything was going very well. "Mrs. Cabell" (he wrote to Lord Wharton) "is as kind to Mr. Wharton as possibly can be; the young lady too as familiar as one would wish; neither can I note one circumstance of any ill signification."<sup>75</sup> In the new atmosphere of sweet reason, the Cabell trustees had moderated their demands. All that now remained was for Lord Wharton to reduce by £4,000 the charges against Tom's inheritance and for Mrs. Cabell to set a firm date for the wedding. Then what Lord Wharton called "the devils obstructing marriage"<sup>76</sup> would be exorcised.

But this time the devils were aided by Tom himself and by the twists of English politics. Having quieted Mrs. Cabell's fears by his presence in Devon, Tom proceeded to arouse them again by leaving too soon. Against the wishes of the Cabell ladies and the advice of John Gunter, who had been sent to help with the final negotiations, Tom found a good reason to go back to London and Bucks. And when he got home, he found an even better reason to stay.

On 4 Feb. 1673, Charles II's famous "Long Parliament" opened a crucial session after a prorogation of almost two years. In the interval more than thirty members of the Commons (originally elected in 1661) had died--among them Robert Croke, one of the members for Wendover, Buckinghamshire. Wendover was traditionally a stronghold of the Hampdens, who since an even more famous Long Parliament had been friends of Lord Wharton and stern critics of the Stuarts. It was natural, therefore, that when the Speaker authorized an election writ, Richard Hampden (son of the renowned John Hampden) and Lord Wharton should select the personable twenty-four year old Tom to stand for the borough and to represent what would soon be called the Whig interest. It was also natural that the borough should be hotly contested. Since there had been no general election for twelve years and since there would be none in the foreseeable future, seats had become more precious than usual; and since at Wendover there were fewer than 150 eligible voters<sup>77</sup> to persuade, influence, or bribe, the borough offered a tempting prize to rich aspirants. In the election of mid-February 1673, Tom was opposed by London alderman Edward Backwell, the "father of English banking" and prominent money lender to Cromwell and Charles II, who stood in the High Church interest.

If Tom had won or lost the election outright, he might have married the plain, virtuous, and rich Elizabeth Cabell. He had promised the young lady's mother to return on March 1--a promise he could easily have kept if he had lost the election or had been assured of a seat at that time. As it was, however, the election involved flagrant bribery; and the polling at Wendover,

where Tom lost 63-75, turned out to be only a preliminary to the contests before the elections committee of the House of Commons, where Tom and his backers challenged twenty-three of Backwell's votes,<sup>78</sup> and before the whole House, which by a vote of 181 to 101 agreed with its committee "that Thomas Wharton Esquire should be elected for Wendover." These contests began on 22 February and did not end until 19 March.<sup>79</sup> Meanwhile, Tom's cause in Devonshire was hopelessly lost.

To Mrs. Cabell, Tom's failure to appear at Brooke on 1 March was final proof that Tom had "no true affection for her daughter";<sup>80</sup> and the fact that he had been detained by election to Parliament merely aggravated the offense. To Tom and Lord Wharton--political animals by nature--a seat in the Commons was a prize that justified without question any delay in romance. To Mrs. Cabell, on the other hand, a seat in the Commons merely provided Tom with one more good excuse to stay away from a wife in Devon.<sup>81</sup> She had tried to believe Tom's protestations, and as late as 22 February she had spoken of a wedding before midsummer.<sup>82</sup> In the end, however, she believed Tom's actions and her own sharp perceptions. Since Tom had broken his promise, slighted her daughter, and clearly chosen politics over love, she was determined to break the match. No consideration of money, rank, or social prestige would tempt her to condemn her daughter to a marriage of mere convenience. It was a "shameful thing," she told Servington Savery, "to go asunder after such an observable proceeding," but it was "better to have the shame now than to feel the sorrow hereafter."<sup>83</sup> And when Samuel Hieron, defending Tom, cited instances of what appeared to be affection, Mrs. Cabell cut him off short. His arguments, she said, did not prove love; they proved only that Tom was willing to marry the young lady. This she had never doubted. But loveless marriages inevitably entailed paramours; and she would not "have her daughter pass for the wife" if there should be "a mistress besides, according to the mode."<sup>84</sup>

Tom's agents in Exeter did not believe the case was hopeless. They could hardly persuade themselves that however angry Mrs. Cabell might be she would really and finally reject a match so rich and prestigious and a suitor so handsome and attractive. They knew that Tom must come down immediately--that letters and intermediaries would do less than no good; but they hoped that his presence, plus more than usual fervor, would bring the disillusioned ladies back to love and reason. Writing on 18 March, Samuel Hieron warned Lord Wharton that Tom must be in Exeter the following week if the affair was to be retrieved. Accordingly, during what turned out to be the last week of the session, Tom left his newly won seat in the Commons and set out for Devon.

This time the trip was disastrous. Tom and his party were robbed on the way to Exeter in a "villainous assault";<sup>85</sup> and when they arrived, Tom soon learned that he might as well have stayed home. Although Mr. Hesketh gave him lodging and although he had the support of Mrs. Cabell's entourage, including her sister, her brother John Fowell, and even her maid Joan, he found the ladies themselves lost beyond apology, excuse, or protestation. To the dismay of his agents and a significant number of Devon gentry, who thought Mrs. Cabell had lost her mind, Tom was obliged to leave Exeter empty handed. He would not return until he came to join the Prince of Orange there in the anxious November of 1688.

What Tom himself thought of his tactical defeat is not recorded. He could not have been much dismayed to lose a plain wife and a mother-in-law who could be charmed but not deceived, who could not understand that one cannot train horses without swearing, and who obviously expected him to spend most of his time away from Bucks and the excitement of London. It is

possible, in fact, that Tom put forth just enough effort to lose gracefully and keep from displeasing his father. It is more likely, however, that he was at least slightly chagrined with the loss. Tom seldom failed at anything, and he had clearly failed as an actor. Perhaps too he felt some slight affection for the womanly maid whom he was willing to marry and whom he had managed to estrange.

What young Elizabeth thought is not recorded either. In the conversations with Tom's agents, she merely echoed her mother.<sup>86</sup> Convinced that Tom would never love her, she was willing to give him up without protest. If she shed tears, no one bothered to note them. It is impossible to say whether she was a stoical and wise young lady or merely submissive. It is beyond doubt, however, that she had a very wise mother. After the close brush with marriage "according to the mode," Mrs. Cabell gave her daughter time to grow up and make her own decisions. Eventually Elizabeth married an Oxfordshire gentleman named Cholmly D'Oyly, and after his death she married Richard Fownes of Devonshire.<sup>87</sup>

As it turned out, the Dowager Countess of Rochester, who was the grandmother and guardian of young Anne Lee, was not nearly so wise. The Countess, born Anne St. John, had been the wife of Sir Francis Henry Lee of Ditchley, Oxfordshire, and then of Henry Wilmot, first Earl of Rochester. By her second marriage she was the mother of John Wilmot, the talented and notorious second Earl of Rochester; and by her first marriage she was the mother of Sir Henry Lee and the grandmother of his two daughters, Eleanora and Anne. Sir Henry died in March 1659 before his second daughter was born, and his wife Anne Danvers Lee died in July shortly after she gave birth to the little girl<sup>88</sup> (also named Anne for her mother and grandmother). Sir Henry and his wife made the Countess the executrix of their wills<sup>89</sup> and the guardian of Eleanora and Anne, who by their parents' death became coheiresses of a great estate.

In February 1672, the Countess was relieved of half her responsibility when she married Eleanora to James Bertie, then Lord Norreys and later Earl of Abingdon. The home estate of Lord Norreys was near the Wilmot country house at Adderbury, northern Oxfordshire; and the match between Eleanora and the young lord was practically a neighborhood affair. When the Countess turned her attention to a match for Anne, she looked a little farther afield, but not much. Sir Ralph Verney, a trustee of the young lady's estate and a long-time friend of the Lee family, lived at Claydon, Bucks, about eighteen miles from Adderbury and about four miles from the Wharton estates at Waddesdon and Winchendon. Sir Ralph, who frequently entertained the Countess and her grand-daughters at Claydon, had known Tom from the lad's birth and thought highly of him.<sup>90</sup> He probably thought highly too of the Wharton property, which lay convenient to Claydon and Adderbury, as if designed for family visits.

The Countess knew Tom, who was only a year younger than her son Rochester, from her yearly sojourns in London. She liked the young man, and when it became clear that the Cabell affair was finished, she began considering him as a prospect. Unfortunately, it was absurdly early to be considering anyone as a prospect. In May 1673, Anne was not yet fourteen years old. In another age in another country she would have been just finishing the eighth grade, and a grandmother-guardian who was negotiating to marry her off might have found herself explaining to a judge in a juvenile court what she thought she was doing. Similarly Tom, then twenty-four, and his perpetual rival John Arundell, then twenty-three, might have been warned by a policeman to move along and leave children alone if they had approached Anne's carriage and vied for her attention. As it was, the incident drew censure, not because the town felt that the two men should have been locked up but because some (including Rachel Russell) felt that Tom



should have challenged Arundell to a duel.<sup>91</sup>

But to Lady Rochester, who had married off Eleanora when the young lady was thirteen, Anne seemed old enough, and the matrimonial picture at Wooburn and St. Giles seemed clear and attractive. On 19 February 1673, between election crises, Lord Wharton had succeeded in marrying his daughter Mary to a wealthy young Welshman named William Thomas,<sup>92</sup> and by May he had virtually completed arrangements for the marriage of Margaret to Major Dunch, which took place on 19 June. Tom himself, by the repulse at Exeter, had been freed from all formal entanglements, and his father had been taught a valuable lesson about marriage contracts. The war at Brooke had essentially defined Tom's patrimony, and Lord Wharton would not again jeopardize a huge marriage settlement in skirmishes over trifles. This time too there was no need of intermediaries, either clerical or secular. Lord Wharton knew Lady Rochester, Sir Ralph Verney, and the other trustees of Anne's estate. The negotiations could be carried on in face-to-face meetings, not by correspondence.

As for young Anne herself, it was clear that, unlike Mistress Cabell, she could be called pretty--perhaps not beautiful like Frances Teresa Stuart, Duchess of Richmond, but certainly pretty, as her portrait by Lely still shows.<sup>93</sup> And a few years later when her latent poetic talent had developed, she would be called witty as well. Meantime, her inheritance was very attractive indeed. It included a cash marriage settlement of £8,000<sup>94</sup> and an annual income of about £2,500. Later, when Anne came of age and the Lee-Danvers property was divided between her and her sister Eleanora, Anne's share would include forty-five acres of Chelsea (including Danvers House), two manors at Malmesbury, five other manors and miscellaneous properties in Wiltshire, and four manors in Northamptonshire.<sup>95</sup>

In view of these circumstances, Lord Wharton and the Dowager Countess had every reason, except perhaps good sense, to expect that the match would be a good one. Certainly the properties were compatible. In fact, however, Tom and Anne were (in the jargon of a later age) maddeningly out of phase. Lord Wharton had stayed much too long at the fair, and Lady Rochester had not stayed there long enough. Before Anne appeared on the scene, Tom had not only discovered his vocation, politics, but also his avocation, women. He had not yet acquired the reputation of a rake but he had acquired the compulsions and the aptitude. After years of repression, he had discovered like the fictional Macheath and the historical Charles II that he could as soon be contented with one guinea as one woman. He had also acquired a mistress to whom, in the quaint language of his memorialist, he had "disposed of his heart."<sup>96</sup> Not surprisingly, young Anne Lee found herself in a contest she could not possibly win. And not surprisingly, when Tom woke up a few years later to find that his teenaged wife had become a fascinating woman, the marriage was damaged beyond salvage--though not beyond love.

In spite of his other preoccupations, Tom pursued the Lee affair with more energy, if not more fervor, than he had devoted to the match in Devon. On the morning that the marriage agreements were to be signed, he set something of a speed record by driving a coach and six horses the twenty-five miles from St. Giles to Wooburn in less than two hours and a quarter.<sup>97</sup> The documents too, it may be added, probably set something of a record. The marriage settlement, still extant, covers thirty-nine folio pages and contains something over 25,000 words. Longer than the average treaty between nations, it lists most of the extensive Wharton properties; and it provides for every contingency except happiness.

Before Tom and Anne were married--at Adderbury on 16 September 1673--and established at Winchendon and Chelsea, Tom had one final crisis to meet. He was challenged to a

duel by John Arundell, his disappointed rival. Though he was ill of a fever at the time and in danger enough "if he had gone only to meet the cold air," as one of his friends said, he showed "a clear and brisk courage" by accepting the challenge and meeting Arundell in the field "with his sword in his hand."<sup>98</sup> On this occasion, however, clear and brisk courage was not enough, and there would be no story-book outcome. For the first and last time in his life, Tom lost a duel. Arundell, with "Cornish dexterity," disarmed him and then in view of his courage granted him his life.<sup>99</sup>

Losing a duel and suffering from fever were not the most auspicious ways to begin a marriage--especially a marriage of convenience. There was, however, one marvelous compensation for all the romantic disadvantages. To Tom, marriage meant freedom. With money and property legally settled upon him, a country house at Winchendon, a town house at Chelsea, and stables at both places, Tom could essentially construct his own life. No longer under the eye of Lord Wharton, he could explore, with his now fourteen-year-old wife, the rich and exciting world of London, Newmarket, and Windsor. He could start planting gardens, buying race horses, and finding political allies.

## NOTES

(Abbreviations used in citations are listed at the back of the notes.)

1. For Lord Wharton's lands in Ireland, mostly in Westmeath and Carlow, see Wharton 4, fol. 44; *CSP* (Ireland), iv, 39, 78, 121, 122, 326-7; Carte 228, fols. 8-66.
2. For sketches of Owen--once chaplain to Cromwell--see *Calamy Revised* pp. 376-77, and *DNB*; for Gilbert see *Calamy Revised*, pp. 221-22.
3. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 28 May 1663, Rawlinson 53, fol. 39.
4. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 5 May 1663 and 9 May 1663, Rawlinson 53, fols. 34, 35.
5. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 18 July 1663, Rawlinson 53, fol. 50.
6. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 22 Dec. 1664, Rawlinson 53, fol. 209.
7. Fortunately for historians, Lord Wharton (who was methodical as a tax accountant) saved the letters of his agents, and a good many of those reports have survived. It is worth noting, however, that the documentation is incomplete. Lord Wharton may have made more excursions into the marriage market than we can presently trace.
8. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 10 July 1667, Rawlinson 53, fol. 209.
9. For Swynfen, see *DNB* and *HC, 1660-90*, iii, 518-23. Swynfen spelled his name as it is spelled here and in *DNB*--not "Swinfen" as written in *HC, 1660-90*.
10. For sketches of the Clarke and Dodd, see *Calamy Revised*, pp. 119-20, 165-66. Clarke is also sketched in *DNB*. Note that in the Wharton correspondence Clarke spells his name with a final *e*, as written here and in *DNB*; and Dodd spells his name with two final *ds*. Both names are misspelled in *Calamy Revised*.
11. John Swynfen to Lord Wharton, 8 July 1668, Rawlinson 50, fol. 22.
12. John Dodd to Lord Wharton, 8 Aug 1668, Rawlinson 50, fol. 27.
13. Report of Samuel Clarke (undated, c. 26 Aug. 1668), Rawlinson 50, fol. 31.
14. John Dodd to Lord Wharton, 17 Aug. 1668, Rawlinson 50, fol. 27; Samuel Clarke to Lord Wharton, 26 Aug. 1668, Rawlinson 50, fol. 29.
15. Samuel Clarke to Lord Wharton, 15 March 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 57. In Feb. 1669, Beata Pope, the eldest daughter, then 23, married Sir William Soame (*CB*, iv, 136); in Mar. 1672, Frances Pope, the second daughter, married Francis North, later Lord Chancellor and 1st Baron Guilford (*CP*, sub *Guilford*).
16. Anonymous ("Yo:<sup>r</sup> Honouringe though Nameless Ser[vant]") to Lord Wharton, 7 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 66.
17. Robert Bennett to Matthew Mead, 8 Nov. 1670, Rawlinson 50, fol. 104; see also, *Autobiography*, ii, 43.

18. John Dodd to Lord Wharton, 24 Aug. 1666, Rawlinson 53, fol. 165; Robert Clarkson to Lord Wharton, 2 Jan. 1666[7], Rawlinson 53, fol. 220. In congratulating himself, too soon, on having finished "that great afaer," Clarkson does not name the gentleman involved or say which Wharton daughter he has taken "soe much paynes for"; but it is highly probable that the lady is Anne.

19. John Stalham to Lord Wharton 26 March 1667, Rawlinson 53, fol. 256. For Stalham, deprived vicar of Terling, Essex, see *DNB* and *Calamy Revised*, pp. 457-58.

20. Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, 3 Nov. 1668, Rawlinson 50, fol. 40. For the Dunch properties at Pusey--"Bishop's Manor" and "Mansell's Court"--see *VHC, Berkshire*, iv (1924), 471-74. The fact that Humphrey Gunter was the brother of John Gunter is stated in the marriage contract between Tom Wharton and Anne Lee. Both men were named as trustees (Bodleian Library, Add. MS, D. 40).

21. Major Dunch and Margaret Wharton were married at St. Paul's, Wooburn, 26 June 1673 (Bucks. RO, Aylesbury, Wooburn PR). For stages in the negotiation, see three letters from Thomas Gilbert to Lord Wharton, dated 24 Dec. 1672, 8 May 1673, and 10 May 1673, Rawlinson 50, fols. 234, 285, 288.

22. Lord Wharton's notes summarizing "the case at Wob[urn]: 5 Apr: [16]69 between a d[daughter] and F[ather]," 14 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 72. This important document, in Lord Wharton's most challenging scrawl, will be cited as "Lord Wharton's Notes."

23. *Ibid.* See also, Thomas Cole to Lord Wharton, 9 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 69.

24. Lord Wharton's Notes, 14 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 72.

25. Lord Wharton does not identify the minister involved.

26. Lord Wharton's Notes, 14 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 72.

27. Thomas Cole to Lord Wharton, 9 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 69.

28. Anonymous to Lord Wharton, 7 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 66.

29. Lazarus Seaman to Lord Wharton, 2 Apr. 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 61. Seaman, who was investigating a marriage prospect for one of the Wharton daughters, stayed briefly with the Whartons at Wooburn and met the Countess. For Seaman, a prominent Nonconformist minister, see *DNB* and *Calamy Revised*, p. 430.

30. For Lord Wharton's written request for special prayers, see Rawlinson 50, fol. 79.

31. William Jenkyns to Lord Wharton, 3 May 1669, Rawlinson 50, fol. 82.

32. Wharton 9, p. 58. Elizabeth's oldest son, Robert, ultimately became 4th Earl and 1st Marquess of Lindsey and 1st Duke of Ancaster. Two or three years after Elizabeth's death, her husband, the 3rd Earl of Lindsey, was married to Elizabeth Pope Lee, widow of Sir Francis Henry Lee (CP). The Earl, who was also hereditary Grand Chamberlain of England, survived until 1701--always a Tory and sometimes a trial to his Whig brother-in-law Tom.

33. John Dodd to Lord Wharton, 4 Oct. 1670, Rawlinson 50, fol. 103. Robert, third Earl of Warwick, whom Dodd calls "lately deceased," had died in 1659 after holding the title only a year. Shortly before his death he entrusted the care of his three daughters--Anne, Mary, and Essex--to the wife of his brother Charles. This lady, also named Mary Rich, became Countess of Warwick when Charles succeeded Robert in the title. Her published memoirs give some account of her nieces. See *Autobiography of Mary Countess of Warwick*, ed. T. Crofton Crocker (London, 1848), pp. 27, 31, 34-36.

34. For Matthew Mead, see *DNB* and *Calamy Revised*, pp. 347-48.
35. Robert Bennett to Matthew Mead, 8 Nov. 1670, Rawlinson 50, fols. 104-05. For Bennett's affection for Lady Wharton, whose genealogy he compiled, see also his undated letter to Lord Wharton (c. 1663), Rawlinson 53, fol. 50.
36. Robert Bennett to Matthew Mead, 8 Nov. 1670, Rawlinson 50, fols. 104-05.
37. If Tom had married Lady Mary, he could have prevented the birth of one of his cleverest and most pertinacious political enemies. On 11 Dec. 1673 Lady Mary married Sir Henry St. John (later 1st Viscount St. John) and on 10 Oct. 1678 gave birth to another Henry St. John, who was to become 1st Viscount Bolingbroke and a grave threat to the Whig party.
38. The Countess of Warwick, Lady Mary's guardian, makes no mention of Dodd's enquiries in her journal of the period. Perhaps the fact that her husband was ill in the autumn of 1670 prevented serious negotiations. See, *Diary of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick*, BL Add. MS 27352.
39. Benjamin Perkins to Lord Wharton, 14 Feb. 1671, Rawlinson 50, fol. 118. For Perkins, see *Calamy Revised*, pp. 386-87; *Alumni Oxonienses*, iii, 1147.
40. Benjamin Perkins to Lord Wharton, 14 Feb. 1671, Rawlinson 50, fol. 118.
41. George Griffith to Lord Wharton, 8 Dec. 1671, Rawlinson 50, fol. 121. For Griffith (mistakenly spelled Griffiths), see *Calamy Revised*, pp. 236-37.
42. Autobiography, ii, 56.
43. I have found no document from the time of the crisis that tells what Tom thought of his father's treatment of his sister. It is worth noting, however, that one of the first things he did when he gained office after the Revolution was to get his brother-in-law William Carr appointed Cursitor Baron of the Court of the Exchequer. See below, p. ; *Goodwin Wharton*, p. 359, n. 4.
44. *London Marriage Licences [sic], 1521-1869*, ed. Joseph Foster (London, 1887), p. 98.
45. Alfred B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, ii (London, 1913), 113. For Bawdon's knighthood and his appointment as alderman, see below, pp. [including ltr of Tom to his sister Mary Wharton Kemeys]
46. As historian Pat Rogers has pointed out, the Whig propagandist and historian John Oldmixon (1673-1742) was the nephew of John Bawdon--the son of Bawdon's sister Elnor (as spelled in Bawdon's will) and her husband John Oldmixon senior, a Somersetshire gentleman, who died in 1675. It was Oldmixon, Rogers argues convincingly, who wrote the anonymous memoirs of Tom and of John, Lord Somers; and it was his sojourns with John and Letitia Bawdon, his uncle and aunt, that furnished him with concrete details about the Wharton family and with the information that Somers once negotiated with the Bawdons for the hand of their daughter Anne. See Pat Rogers, "The Memoirs of Wharton and Somers," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, lxxvii (1974), 224-35; "Two Notes on John Oldmixon and his Family," *Notes and Queries*, ccxv (1970), 293-300. See also Appendix A, below, p.
47. For the versatile Benjamin Worsley, whose title of *Doctor* may have been self-conferred, see *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Richard L. Greaves and Robert Zeller, iii (Brighton, England, 1984), 341-43. A surgeon, an expert on trade, and a projector, Worsley was a Nonconformist but not a minister. He was suggested, nevertheless, as a possible chaplain for Tom's expedition to Devonshire (Rawlinson 50, fol. 193).

48. Francis Hart, a non-conforming merchant, had been arrested some years earlier for attending a conventicle at Totnes and then consigned to prison for refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. At the time he began his correspondence with Worsley, he was still under arrest (but not in prison) in Exeter. Lord Wharton procured his release from custody on 10 Feb. 1672 (a month before the general amnesty proclaimed by the King's Declaration of Indulgence) so that Hart could journey unmolested to Brooke and Fowelscombe. See B. Worsley to Lord Wharton, 23 Jan. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 132; Francis Hart to Lord Wharton, 20 Jan. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 135: *CSP, Dom.*, xii (1671-72), 128.

49. B[enjamin] Worsley to Andrew Marvell, 27 Dec. 1671, 1 Jan. 1672, 2 Jan. 1672, 3 Jan. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fols. 123, 126, 129, 149. The first of these letters is addressed to Marvell "at the Lord Whartons house at Winchington." On the last three, Marvell has added notes to Lord Wharton. On 23 Jan. 1672, Worsley wrote directly to Lord Wharton (Rawlinson 50, fol. 132). See also, *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, 3rd ed., ed Herschel Maurice Margoliouth, rev. by Pierre Legouis and E. E. Duncan Jones (Oxford, 1971), ii, 326-27, 386. The editors print Marvell's notes to Lord Wharton, but they repeat Worsley's misspelling of Cabell (*Cable*) and they locate the Cabell estate at Honiton instead of Brooke and Buckfastleigh.

50. The will of Richard Cabell (PRO, Prob 11/339/71), drawn on 6 May 1671 and probated 29 June 1672, allocated several properties in Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire to Cabell's brother Samuel and one manor in Cornwall to his brother John; it also augmented the jointure of Cabell's wife. The rest of the Devon property (including half the manor of Buckfastleigh, two-thirds of the manor of Dunston, all the manors of Mainbow, Holmbescombe [Holcombe], and Wrangaton, plus "divers messuages," mills, woods, and rectories, descended to Elizabeth, who was also appointed sole executrix of her father's will. Since Elizabeth was still a minor, the administration of the properties remained in the hands of trustees John Fowell, George Prestwood, Ambrose Roope, and Richard Fownes until she came of age.

51. Samuel Hart to Lord Wharton, 26 March 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 159.

52. Tom Wharton to Lord Wharton, 17 June 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 197.

53. B. Worsley to Andrew Marvell, 2 Jan. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 129.

54. Cary Gardner to Sir Ralph Verney, 8 Sep. 1673, Verney Corr., M11/Reel 26. Although John Arundell, who was already an MP for Truro, did not possess (as Cary Gardner conceded) "so great an estate" as Tom did, he received (as a critic of the Court noted) "very great gifts" from the Crown, and he was a commissioner for tax assessments in Cornwall. See *Flagellum Parliamentarium*, possibly by Andrew Marvell, in *Aungerville Society Reprints*, First Series, No. 1 (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 10; *HC 1660-90*, i, 549.

55. B. Worsley to Andrew Marvell, 2 Jan. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 129. The young man, whose first name is never given, may have been Thomas Thynne of Longleat, who for his immense wealth and his lack of other distinction was dubbed "Tom of Ten Thousand" (*HC, 1660-90*, iii, 566-67).

56. Stephen K. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration in an English County: Devon Local Administration, 1646-1670* (Exeter, 1985), p. 164.

57. B. Worsley to Lord Wharton, 23 Jan. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 132.

58. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration*, p. 19.

59. Francis Hart to Lord Wharton, 29 Jan. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fols. 135.

60. Francis Hart to Lord Wharton, 10 Feb. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 146. Elizabeth's father had testified, in effect, to her competence by naming her sole executrix of his will.

61. Servington Savery to Lord Wharton, 7 June 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 189.
62. Francis Hart to Lord Wharton, 7 June 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 193.
63. Rough draft, Lord Wharton to Lewis Stucley and Servington Savery, c. 10 June 1672, Rawlinson 50, fols. 104, 105.
64. Tom Wharton to Lord Wharton, 17 June 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 197. Note that this important letter was written on the night of the first interview. Gunter and Savery also wrote reports to Lord Wharton, but these have disappeared.
65. Once Mrs. Cabell chose Tom as her daughter's fiancé, John Fowell (who had promised Lord Arundell to support his son) could change sides without dishonor. See Tom Wharton to Lord Wharton, 17 June 1672, and Lord Wharton to John Fowell, 24 June 1672, Rawlinson 50, fols. 197, 200.
66. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 18 Sept. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 207.
67. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 17 Aug. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 209.
68. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 18 Sep. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 207. The King's Declaration of Indulgence was in effect at the time Tom promised to help support a "meeting" of Dissenters; hence such meetings were legal.
69. A rough draft of Lord Wharton's letter to Hesketh, unaddressed and undated, is still extant in Rawlinson 50, fol. 214. A clean copy of the letter to Mrs. Cabell, also unaddressed and undated, exists in Rawlinson 51, fol. 388.
70. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 2 Nov. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 240.
71. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 30 Nov. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 221.
72. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 4 Dec. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 223.
73. Lord Wharton to [Mrs. Cabell], undated [1672], Rawlinson 51, fol. 388.
74. Autobiography, ii, 55-56; *Goodwin Wharton*, pp. 3-5. The reassignment of Wooburn provoked a furious argument between Goodwin and Lord Wharton.
75. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 4 Dec. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 223.
76. Lord Wharton's phrase is repeated by Lewis Stucley in a letter to Lord Wharton, 9 Dec. 1672, Rawlinson 50, fol. 228.
77. William A. Speck gives the number of eligible voters at Wendover as 120 during the reign of Queen Anne (Speck, p. 126); but in the contest between Tom Wharton and Edward Backwell in 1673 there were 138 uncontested votes and (apparently) one disputed vote. (The fact that some of the voters were bribed did not affect their *right* to vote.) In addition there may have been a few eligible voters who did not vote, but these would be few indeed in a hotly contested election.
78. The Whartons expected seven of their own votes to be challenged on grounds of bribery. The probable charges and the answers to be made are listed in Carte 109, fol. 433.
79. For fascinating details about the Wendover election and Tom's petition, see Carte 109, fols. 405, 407, 408, 409, 433. See also, *H CJ*, ix, 248, 255, 270-71, 274.
80. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 18 March 1673, Rawlinson 50, fol. 247.

81. Sir Ralph Verney laughingly suggested in a letter to his son Edmund (29 May 1673) that Mrs. Cabell's attitude was "little less than a breach of [Parliamentary] Priviledg[e]." Verney Corr., M 11/Reel 26.

82. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 22 Feb. 1673, Rawlinson 53, fol. 311.

83. Servington Savery to Lord Wharton, 18 Mar. 1673, Rawlinson 50, fol. [249].

84. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 18 Mar. 1673, Rawlinson 50, fol. 247.

85. Henry Lever to Lord Wharton, 7 Apr. 1673, Rawlinson 50, fol. 269. Lever had learned about the robbery in a letter from Lord Wharton dated 29 Mar. 1673. On 29 Mar. also, Brome Whorwood, Member for Oxford, observed in the House of Commons that the robbery of "Mr. Wharton" had been perpetrated "by persons like soldiers, armed and horsed" (Grey, *Debates*, ii, 175). By implication, it was another argument against standing armies.

86. Samuel Hieron to Lord Wharton, 18 Mar. 1673, Rawlinson 50, fol. 247; Servington Savery to Lord Wharton, 18 Mar. 1673, Rawlinson 50, fol. [249].

87. Unfortunately for wisdom and adult marriages, Elizabeth's marriage to Cholmly D'Oyly, which took place in Nov. 1693, does not seem to have been an outstanding success; and upon D'Oyly's death (c. 1700) Elizabeth learned that he had a son by a woman named Margaret Needham (daughter of a Worcestershire clergyman), who alleged that she had married D'Oyly six months before he married Elizabeth. Convinced by the evidence that Margaret's story was true, Elizabeth brought a bill in chancery to have her own marriage declared void and the property settlement, along with subsequent charges against her property, cancelled. After hearing the complaint, the Lord Keeper ordered a jury trial at the Queen's Bench on the issue of whether a Needham-D'Oyly marriage had actually taken place. At this trial, in March 1704 (sometime after Elizabeth had married Richard Fownes), the jury decided that no legal marriage had existed. The settlements, therefore, remained in force. On 11 Nov. 1704 Elizabeth and her second husband Richard Fownes appealed the decision to the House of Lords, where the case was heard on 18 Dec. 1704 and 10 Jan. 1705 (with Tom, then Lord Wharton, in attendance on both occasions). After hearing many witnesses and much argument, the peers upheld the verdict of the lower court and the appeal was dismissed. Naturally, the appeal to the Lords and the subsequent action furnish a good deal of information about Elizabeth and her property, including the names of her manors and the fact that her marriage portion included £6,000 in cash. The extant documents include HLRO, Appeal of Richard and Elizabeth Fownes, Parchment MSS, Box 194/2; MS Minutes, 18 Dec. 1704, 10 Jan. 1704/[05]; HMC, HL, N.S. vi, 51-52.

88. Anne was baptized at Spelsbury on 24 July 1659, the day of her mother's funeral (*CP*, sub Wharton, Thomas, 1st Earl and 1st Marquess. I erroneously gave the date as 24 Aug. in *Goodwin Wharton*, p. 331.

89. PRO, PROB 11/290, 296. Sir Henry's will is dated 18 March 1658/9; his wife's will is dated 15 June 1659, with a codicil added on 18 July, and a nuncupative codicil added later by the Countess of Rochester. The Countess remembers the date of her daughter-in-law's death as 31 July 1659. The will of Anne Danvers Lee was probated 22 Dec 1659; Sir Henry's 16 April 1659.

90. *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, comp. Frances Parthenope, Lady Verney and Margaret Maria, Lady Verney, London, iv, 1899, 243.

91. The often-cited letter in which Rachel Russell, from London, writes to her husband William Russell at Stratton about the Wharton-Arundel episode has been misdated by a year ever since its first publication. Mary Berry, who edited the letter from the Devonshire collection in 1819, apparently supplied the date May 1672 from the letter's reference to a naval battle between the English and the Dutch. This she supposed to be the famous battle of Solebay (Southwold Bay), fought on 28 May 1672. Actually, however, the battle was the engagement off Schooneveld on 28 May 1673---a fact made clear by other references in the letter. One of these is the reference to the marriage between Anne Ogle and Craven Howard--an event of 1673 (Evelyn, iv, 71n);



another is a reference to the negotiations for the marriage of the Duke of York--another episode of 1673. Finally, the story of Tom, Arundel, and Anne Lee's coach obviously belongs to the period following Tom's retreat from Exeter, not to the period before he went to Exeter in the first place (a time, incidentally when Anne would have been twelve years old). Rachel Russell, it should be noted, though married to William Russell in 1669, was styled Lady Vaughan (her title from her first marriage) until 1678 when William inherited his older brother's courtesy title of Lord Russell; then she became Lady Russell. For her letter, see [Mary Berry], *Some Account of the Life of Rachael [sic] Wriothesley, Lady Russell by the Editor of Mme. Du Deffand's Letters* (London, 1819), pp. 4-5; *Letters of Rachel Lady Russell*, ed. Lord John Russell, London, 1853, i, 9-10.

92. Bucks. RO, Aylesbury, Wooburn PR. Young Thomas was the son and "heire apparant" of Edward Thomas of Wenvoe Castle, Glamorganshire.

93. Photographic reproductions of the portrait can be found in *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iv, facing p. 243, and Lewis Saul Benjamin [pseud. Lewis Melville], *The Life and Writings of Philip Duke of Wharton* (London, 1913), facing p. 9.

94. The correct figure, £8,000, is established by the marriage contract of Anne Lee and Tom Wharton (Bodleian Library, Add. MS D. 40, p. 1) and by the will of Sir Henry Lee (PRO, Prob 11/290). The erroneous figure of £10,000 is given by Tom's first biographer (*Memoirs*, p. 18) and repeated by many writers, including the authors of the sketches in *DNB* and *CP*.

95. The properties are listed in a Chancery suit, Wharton v. Abingdon, PRO, C 5/637/73.

96. *Memoirs*, p. 19.

97. *Ibid.* The memorialist estimates the distance at 22 miles on the route through Beaconsfield--an estimate that seems at least two or three miles short.

98. Thomas Yates to Lord Wharton, 27 Sept. 1673, Rawlinson 51, fol. 27.

99. William Denton to Sir Ralph Verney, 22 Sept. 1673, Verney Corr., D11/Reel 26; *HC*, 1660-90, i, 549; iii. 698. Tom's biographer, writing forty-two years later, mistakenly says that Tom won the duel (*Memoirs*, p. 32).

## ABBREVIATIONS

### 1. List of Abbreviations commonly used in the citation of Book Titles and of Manuscripts

Add.	Additional
BL	British Library
Corr.	Correspondence
<i>CSP, Dom.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
<i>CTB</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
<i>HCH</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
HEH	Henry E. Huntington Library
<i>HLJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i>
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
HS	Harleian Society
<i>IHCJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Commons...Ireland</i>
<i>IHLJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords...Ireland</i>
MS, MSS	Manuscript, manuscripts
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PR	Parish Register
PRO	Public Record Office
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
RO	Record Office
SP	State Papers
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
<i>VHC</i>	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>

### 2. List of Books and Manuscripts cited by Short Titles

<i>Annals</i>	Abel Boyer, <i>The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals</i> , 11 vols. (London, 1703-13).
Autobiography	The Autobiography of Goodwin Wharton, BL, Add. MSS 20,006-07.
Burnet	Gilbert Burnet, <i>Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time</i> , ed. Martin Joseph Routh, 2nd edn., 6 vols. (Oxford, 1833).
<i>Calamy Revised</i>	Arnold Gwynne Matthews, <i>Calamy Revised</i> (Oxford, 1934).
Carte	Bodleian Library, Carte MSS.
<i>CB</i>	<i>Complete Baronetage</i> , ed. G. E. C.[okayne], 5 vols. (Exeter, 1900-6).
<i>CP</i>	<i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom</i> , ed. G. E. C.[okayne], rev.ed., 12 vols. (London, 1910-59).
Dalton	<i>English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714</i> , ed. Charles Dalton, 6 vols. (London, 1892-1904).
E. R. Wharton	Edward Ross Wharton, <i>The Whartons of Wharton Hall</i> (Oxford, 1898).
Evelyn	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955).
<i>Goodwin Wharton</i>	J. Kent Clark, <i>Goodwin Wharton</i> (Oxford, 1984).

Grey, <i>Debates</i>	Anchitell Grey, <i>Debates of the House of Commons from the Year 1667 to the Year 1694</i> , 10 vols. (London, 1763).
HC, 1660-90	<i>The House of Commons, 1660-1690</i> , ed. Basil Duke Henning, published for History of Parliament Trust, 3 vols. (London, 1983).
Kemeys-Tynte	NLW, Aberystwyth, Wales, Kemeys-Tynte MSS.
Kennett	White Kennett, <i>A Complete History of England</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1706).
Langley	Thomas Langley, <i>The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough</i> (London, 1797).
Lonsdale	Cumbria RO, Carlisle, Lonsdale MSS.
Luttrell	Narcissus Luttrell, <i>A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714</i> , 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857).
Macaulay	Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1st Baron Macaulay, <i>The History of England from the Accession of James the Second</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1913-15).
Macky	John Macky, <i>Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.</i> (London, 1733).
<i>Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Life of the Most Noble Thomas, Late Marquess of Wharton</i> (London, 1715).
<i>Old Cause</i>	John Carswell, <i>The Old Cause</i> (London, 1954).
<i>Parl. Diary</i>	<i>The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691-1693</i> , ed. Henry Horwitz (Oxford, 1972).
<i>Parl. Hist.</i>	<i>The Parliamentary History of England</i> , ed. William Cobbett, 36 vols. (London, 1806-20).
POAS	<i>Poems on Affairs of State, Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714</i> , gen. ed., George de F. Lord, 7 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1963-75).
<i>Pol. State</i>	Abel Boyer, <i>The Political State of Great Britain</i> 60 vols. (London, 1712-40).
Rawlinson	Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS.
Speck	William Arthur Speck, <i>Tory and Whig, the Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-1715</i> (London, New York, 1970).
<i>State Trials</i>	<i>A Complete Collection of State Trials</i> , ed. T. B. Howell, 21 vols. (London, 1811-26).
<i>Surv. London</i>	Greater London Council, <i>Survey of London</i> , vol. i--(London, 1900--).
Trevelyan	George Macaulay Trevelyan, <i>England Under Queen Anne</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1930-34).
Verney Corr.	Bucks. RO, microfilm collection of Verney family letters in Claydon House.
Wharton	Bodleian Library, Wharton MSS.